

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR AO GH SF

SUBJ: GOG AID MEMOIRE ON SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT AID MEMOIRE PRESENTED TO ME DEC 22
BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER FELLI. COMMENT FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

QUOTE

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA HAS, FROM AN EARLY STATE, BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA. ITS MORAL SUPPORT WAS FROM THE START GIVEN FREELY TO ALL THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF ANGOLA, REGARDLESS OF THE GROUPING IN WHICH THEY FOUGHT. ONCE IT BECAME CLEAR THAT INDEPENDENCE WAS NO LONGER IN DOUBT, THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA GENUINELY HOPED FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA.

2. SOMETIME BEFORE INDEPENDENCE HOWEVER, A CONFLICT DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE THREE MAIN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, A CONFLICT AGGRAVATED AS IT WENT ON BY THE EVER-ESCALATING INTERVENTION OF OUTSIDE POWERS AND SUPER-POWERS. THROUGHOUT
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THIS PHASE OF THE CRISIS THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA ADHERED TO

ITS CONVICTION THAT ONLY A RECONCILED PEOPLE UNDER A UNIFIED GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE WOULD BE RIGHT, AND BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY. IN THAT CONVICTION GHANA SUGGESTED CONCILIATION AS THE ONLY VALID SOLUTION, PROPOSED THE CONCILIATION COMMISSION OF THE OAU, ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN ITS WORK, AND SUPPORTED ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.

3. BY THE ACTIVE INTERVENTION, HOWEVER, OF SOUTH AFRICA THE ALREADY GRAVE SITUATION IN ANGOLA TOOK A VERY SERIOUS TURN FOR THE WORSE. THE EVIDENCE IS INCONTROVERTIBLE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN COMBATANTS AS WELL AS WEAPONS HAVE BEEN EXTENSIVELY EMPLOYED IN THE CIVIL WAR ON THE SIDE OF UNITA, FNLA OR BOTH. IN AN EARLIER STATEMENT THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA HAS ALREADY MADE CLEAR ITS VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY FORM OR DEGREE. THAT VIEW IS NOW RE-AFFIRMED AND REITERATED IN THE MOST EMPHATIC TERMS. BUT APART FROM EVERYTHING ELSE, THE INTRUSION OF AN ELEMENT WHICH IS FOR WELL-KNOWN REASONS SO OBJECTIONABLE, RADICALLY ALTERS THE CHARACTER OF THE ANGOLAN CRISIS, AND INTRODUCES A FEATURE PREGNANT WITH INCALCULABLE MISCHIEF FOR THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA, FOR AFRICA AND POSSIBLY EVEN FOR THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

4. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN IT WAS POSSIBLE, AND REASONABLE, FOR MOST AFRICAN NATIONS TO REGARD THE CRISIS IN ANGOLA AS LARGELY AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. IT REMAINED FUNDAMENTALLY A CIVIL WAR DESPITE THE INTERVENTION OF OUTSIDE POWERS, UNDERSIRABLE AND UNFORTUNATE THOUGH THAT WAS. AS LONG AS IT COULD BE SO REGARDED THERE ALWAYS REMAINED SOME HOPE OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, MEDIATED THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF AN IMPARTIAL OAU. AS THE ESCALATING INTERVENTION OF THE SUPER POWERS LARGELY DIMINISHED THAT HOPE, SO IT SEEMED, DE-ESCLATION BY THE SAME

SUPER POWERS MIGHT REVIVE IT - PERHAPS REVIVE IT TO THE POINT WHERE A CEASE FIRE, A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, CONCILIATION, MIGHT ALL BECOME POSSIBILITIES IN ONE COMBINATION OR ANOTHER. CERTAINLY FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE, IF FOR NO OTHERS, THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN AND WOULD STILL BE INFINITELY PREFERABLE TO THE GRIM ALTERNATIVE OF A FIGHT TO THE FINISH - PROTRACTED

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INTERVENTION IS NOT SCALED DOWN AND HALTED.

5. THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTRUSION HOWEVER PUTS A TOTALLY NEW COMPLEXION ON THE SITUATION, WHICH CAN NO LONGER BE REGARDED AS A CIVIL WAR PURE AND SIMPLE. NO AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CAN REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THE MENACING NORTHWARD THRUST OF THE FORCES OF APARTHEID. NOR, FOR MOST OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES, IS ANY CONCILIATION OR ACCOMMODATION WITH THOSE

FORCES EITHER POLITICALLY OR PSYCHOLOGICALLY FEASIBLE. IF THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE IS NOT TO LOSE ITS IMPARTIALITY AND, WITH IT, ANY CAPACITY OR INCLINATION TO MEDIATE, IF ALMOST THE ENTIRE OAU IS NOT TO TURN FINALLY AND DECISIVELY AGAINST UNITA AND FNLA THEN THE PROMPT AND TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELEMENT MUST BE ENSURED AND RENDERED MANIFEST. IT IS THE HOPE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA THAT ALL THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE THE GREATEST INFLUENCE WITH THE VORSTER REGIME AND ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO PREVAIL UPON IT, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE WEST, WILL ENSURE THAT THIS ELIMINATION IS SPEEDILY BROUGHT ABOUT, AS IT REMAINS THE ONLY HOPE OF KEEPING OPEN THE OPTIONS FOR ANY EVENTUAL RECONCILIATION. WITHOUT IT THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA WOULD BE LEFT NO ALTERNATIVE OTHER THAN TO COMMIT ITS FULL SUPPORT AND RECOGNITION TO MPLA AS THE SOLE RELIABLE OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID IN ANGOLA. THE GOVERNMENT VENTURES TO EXPRESS ITS BELIEF THAT MOST OTHER MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE OAU WOULD ACT IN A SIMILAR SENSE. SUCH WOULD BE THE NATURAL AND INEVITABLE EFFECTS OF THE VORSTER REGIME'S DELIBERATE AGGRESSION. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES CANNOT BE AFRICA'S. END QUOTE.
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